1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔɣ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"gɛla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mɛnda"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two ares of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

* *Op. cit.*, 12.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

[171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] [619] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literaly winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat. 116, P. 31 - - An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, P. 33 . . An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leû), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV, $\frac{a}{b}$. The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [439] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the pifion nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsûm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (bele'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mûm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 334 35. – Au.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

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The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that of the Paviotso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2), the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6), and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[3] and plate XII, figs. 1 and 2).[4]

[171]

[482]

MATERIALS.

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The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and is therefore sparingly used.

[439]
[137]

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The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials:

Willow	hi'mû
Unpeeled rods	mi'mû
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesû'sûyewe
Brown sewing element	himû toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñé'we, and poto'soñ

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 41--Am.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 53 -- Am.]
[3] [see cat. 116, p. 49 -- Am.]
[4] [see cat. 116, p. 51 --]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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The design of small squares or dots shown in fig. 19 is called dagubeloye'cûe, translated as "little spots in lines."

The design shown in fig. 21 is called tegûkâ'lkûl tagûm hahat, translated "zigzag crossed."

17.

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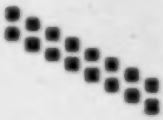

19.

The two designs shown in figs. 20 and 22 are called mû'tkûsa, translated "forked."

Not all the baskets shown in the accompanying plates were available when the information concerning basketry designs was

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obtained but informants were questioned on a considerable number of other designs than those given above. No other terms were obtainable. Very frequently they stated that the design under consideration "had no name", or that it was a "new style" design, indicating that it was copied after some whiteman's pattern.

[177]

CONCLUSION.

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It thus appears that the Washo have certain strong cultural affinities with their neighbors of the California area on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. These relationships appear particularly in the use of the conical slab dwelling and the semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; in the adoption of the acorn as a food; and in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled bas-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ketry. In having a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names, accompanied by modifying terms, they also resemble certain tribes of the California area. 171 ●

The similarities of the Washo culture to that of the Great Basin region to the east, on the other hand, are very strikingly shown in the fact that the foods are almost identical, and in that very similar methods are employed in securing the same. Especially is this the case in certain nets used in fishing and rabbit hunting, and in the methods employed in handling the piñon nut and other vegetal foods. The twined basketry of the Washo resembles very closely in many respects that of the Great Basin culture, and certain stone implements, particularly the metate and muller, are also very similar to those used in that area.

While otherwise the social organization of the Washo appears to have been in aboriginal times very simple, the absolute control exercised by the "rabbit boss," or hunting chief, over all matters pertaining to communal hunting and fishing, presents a very interesting and peculiar feature of the Washo culture. 621. 624

It will thus be seen that the Washo culture has certain strong affinities with that of the California area and also with that of the Great Basin area, but that in general it is somewhat more closely allied to the latter than to the former. This is but natural on account of the situation of the Washo, which is largely within the Great Basin, and on account of the facility of communication and easy interchange of culture between them and the several Great Basin tribes immediately to the east, particularly those about Walker lake and in the lower Carson valley. This influence of the tribes to the east was accentuated by the relative difficulty of interchange with the California tribes living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, who on account of the deep snows of winter were accessible to the Washo only during a part of the year, and with whom communication was difficult at all times on account of this rugged mountain barrier. 171 177

Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
May 10, 1917.

[pp. 26 and 27 are blank]

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XXX International Congress of Americanists

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

	North-East California H. E. Driver U. S. 1941	North-West California H. E. Driver U. S. 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		South Great Basin H. E. Driver U. S. 1937 (tribes not listed separately)		
				Yokuts, Miwok		Ute, Kern River, Panamint (Owens Valley, Paiute
		women	women	women	women	
Public Recognition	+	+	–	+	+	–
In dwelling	+	+	–			
Outdoors	+	+	–	+	–	
Night		+	–	+	–	
For all girls		+	–	+	–	
Certain girls only						
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–	
Rite conducted by chief				+	–	–
Duration:						
1 day or few number of days		1 to 10		+	–	
Singing	+					
Singers paid or given gifts	+					
Singing, no dancing		+	–		–	
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancing		+	–	+	–	
Group dancing	+	+	–			
Men dance	+					
Women dance	+					
Each sex separately	+					
Both sexes together	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers abreast in line	+	+	–			
Girl dances	+	+	–	+	–	
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–			
Head rattle	+					
Split-stick rattle	+	+	–			
Deerskin rattle				+	–	
Gourd rattle				+	–	
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–	
4 days in roasting pit						
Crouch at girl's rite						
Sexual license						

*This list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropological

[533]
[535]
[534]

CARTWRIGHT: Washo Pottery Ceremony 4/A

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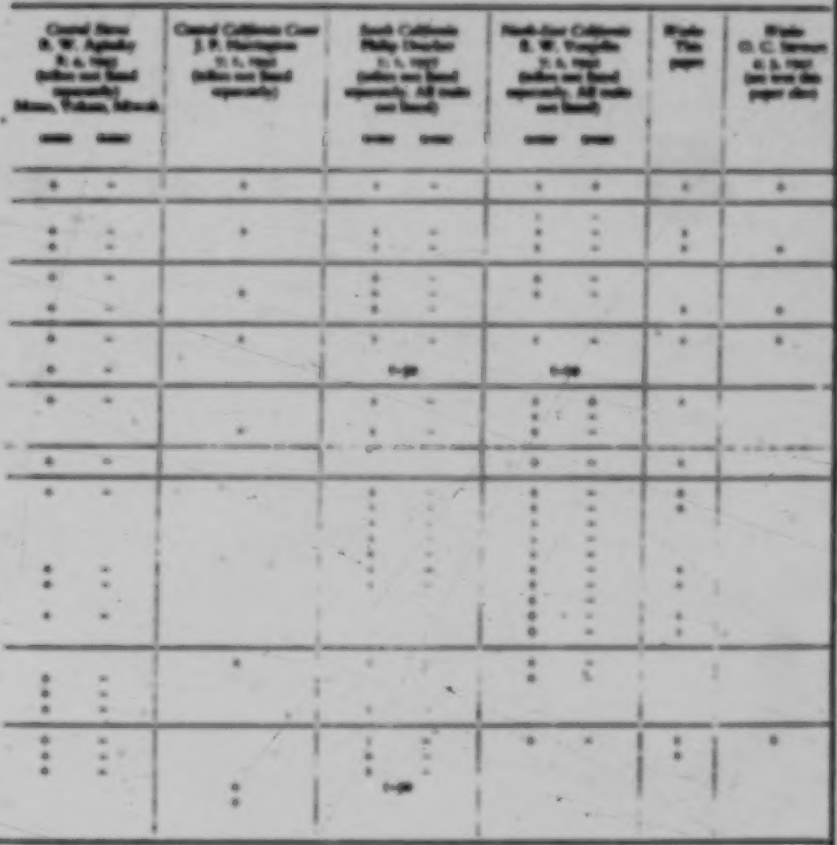
185—CALIFORNIA TRIBES, WASHO, PAIUTE, SHOSHONE



1/1 [The legend for this table will be found on previous page, cat. 116 (120), p. 128 -- Ann Lyot]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

wick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassiere and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the center of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal bread; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the pinon nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean game, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it for up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

paced to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers."

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Beengle as witnessed by her in 1929-30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[5] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special dance held at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl can nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighboring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[7] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[7] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably drew over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her house.*

Table I shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many-

*[see category 11b, pp. 138-139 - Analyst]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

similar traits already noted, it might indicate that the Washo were in the past a California tribe, coming from that area at some early time, settling close to the Great Basin tribes, and taking over from them many of their culture traits, particularly those relating to the procurement of food.

NOTES

[1] Barrett, S. A. *The Washo Indians*, Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1917), pp. 1–52.

[2] Kroeber, A. L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1925, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78.

[3] Lowie, Robert H. *Ethnographic Notes on the Washo*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, Berkeley, 1939.

[4] Driver, Harold E. *Culture Element Distributions, XVI. Gold Potawy Kins in Western North America*, University of California Anthropological Records, Berkeley, 6, No. 2, 1943, pp. 51–90.

[5] Stewart, Omer C. *Culture Element Distributions. XIV. Northern Paiute*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 3, 1941, pp. 361–446.

[6] Steward, Julian H. *Culture Element Distributions. XIII. Nevada Shoshone*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 2, 1941, pp. 209–259.

[P 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that humans shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to pierce an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Daugherty) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and then defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or very unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

[789] [764] 796 825 ● 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's comment lists above no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (1936). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 204, 222) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports use of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[177] [825] [771]

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
[538] law who remembered the antelope songs.
[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

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[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with
[114] the culture element distribution lists presented by Steward, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

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Rabbits (80-90).--The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. [535] There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

224 624 787 791

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color.

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil.

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements.

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras.

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc-

1/2 [This plate has not been processed -- Heizer]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Aŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

A few Northern Paiute and Shoshoni groups did make intensive use of small areas so that their population densities approached or even exceeded that of the Washo tribe. Steward (1938, 47-48) presents the Owens Valley Paiute (2.1 sq. mi. per person) and Shoshoni groups along the Humboldt River (3.3 to 5.2 sq. mi. per person) as examples of high population density for the Great Basin.

In the estimate given above, Kroeber was using a population of 1,000 for the Washo in an area of 6,200 km^2 (2,394 square miles). Earlier, Kroeber (1925, 944) had estimated a population of about 1,500 for the year A.D. 1770. This latter figure is probably closer to the Washo population in the middle 1800's. Furthermore, Washo territory was clearly larger than Kroeber's estimate. The Washo land claim case against the government in 1951 comprised a total of 9,872 square miles. This, in turn, appears to be an overstatement in terms of what is currently meant by aboriginal territory (cf., Indian Claims Commission 1959). The Washo had knowledge and some use of approximately 12,000 square miles in their "nuclear" and "peripheral lands". They made intensive use of less than 2,000 square miles, while their "nuclear" territory comprised about 4,000 square miles. Thus, population and territory figures suggest a density that is high for the Great Basin: 1,500 persons in 4,000 square miles or 2.7 square miles per person.

Physical Type

The published physical description of the Washo Indians consists of a few photographs and a series of anthropometric measurements made by Gifford (1926). These measurements were published in "Californian Anthropometry" along with several other samples. The accuracy of the description of any particular group presented in "Californian Anthropometry" is questionable on the grounds of the small sample sizes. For example, cephalic indices were listed for 48 groups, but 1/2 of these groups consisted of a sample of 8 or less with 10 groups represented by only one individual. The mean sample size for these 48 series with data on cephalic index is 16.3. In spite of its negative aspects, "Californian Anthropometry" is the only primary source on Washo anthropometry.

The physical types found by Gifford for the California Indians are listed below with the criteria that he used. Facial index (FI), nasal index (NI), and cephalic index (CI) should be read as 80 or lower (80-) and 80 or higher (80+). Stature (St) is given in centimeters so that 170 would be equivalent to 5 feet and 7 inches.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangsi¢lti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (o¢tumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (pēlleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (pēlleu ushēsh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (pēlleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market involves exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When those demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

these mechanisms may be found in other economies in the world along the continuum of technological complexity.

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Political Authority and the Economy

Sahlins (1960, 408) writes that "In primitive economies, most production is geared to use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than exchange or gain...control of the means of production is decentralized, local, and familial...economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production...in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers." These statements fit the Washo case and help to explain why the investment of political authority and the possession of wealth are not associated in Washo society.

The ability to produce economic goods, and personal generosity, were two of the most respected qualities in individuals. Men who had these qualities were often given a degree of political authority. That is, their advice was respected and followed. In the broad view, political authority was the result of conformance to a configuration of obligations: economic, religious, kinship, etc.

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Sociopolitical Groups and the Economy

Steward (1938, 237-262) presents a theory for the development of sociopolitical groups in the Basin-Plateau area. In his view these groups were conditioned by their varying ecological adjustments.

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"The subsistence habits required in each region determined the size, nature, and permanency of population aggregates. These, in turn, predetermined many, though not all, features of social structures and political controls. In some regions, as among Western Shoshoni, exigencies of existence permitted little variation in the general sociopolitical patterns. When, however, ecology allowed latitude in subsistence activities, noneconomic factors, such as warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc., became determinants of the sociopolitical patterns."

"Among the Western Shoshoni and many of their Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute neighbors it was physically impossible for families either to remain in one place for any considerable time or for more than a few families to remain in permanent association. The outstanding sociopolitical units,

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consequently, were the biological family and the small winter village, consisting of a loose aggregate of families...Because...of the erratic occurrence of wild seeds and the frequent variation of terrain covered, alliance did not always bring together the same families or village members. Habitual cooperation of the same people and therefore the development of fixed if limited political allegiances and controls was impossible. Likewise, habitual and exclusive utilization of particular territories by certain groups could not develop...Though kinship ties were important, the uncertainties of residence and of assured association with specific relatives prevented the development of an elaborate and nicely fixed set of kinship duties and obligations..."

Also ecology "permitted, if it did not cause, band development" in Owens Valley and "in late pre-Caucasian times among the Northern Shoshoni and probably the Ute."

The present writer has tried to show that "warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc." should not be called "noneconomic", although they may be predominantly something other than economic. All groupings have some economic dimensions. However, Steward's point is well taken. He implies that as the natural abundance of food increased or the techniques of exploitation and transportation improved the nature of groupings became less determined by the search for food.

This present writer accepts the major outlines of Steward's theory, but must add that it was not entirely true for the Washo. The Washo had one of the more productive natural environments in the Great Basin and this was reflected in their being closer in form of sociopolitical groupings to the Owens Valley Paiute than the Western Shoshoni. However, when we compare seasonal variations of aboriginal social organization it is clear that predominantly economic activities determined the nature of groupings in the abundant summer as well as the meager winter.

Also Washo sociopolitical groupings were not radically altered by the comparatively abundant food made available by Whites. There is support for the idea that the cultural traditions behind sociopolitical grouping have some degree of internal dynamics and resistence to change, apart from economic changes, in the facts of Washo acculturation.

Barriers to Economic Development

The Washo lived in an area of abundance for a hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. They used this abundance to an advantage and, for a Great Basin tribe, had a dense population. Still they were surprisingly low in economic development. Kroeber (1939, 137) ranked the Washo on the

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and mɔ̂mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

T:Freed B-8 (1883-1957)1960 NTSO Washo NTSO
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p. 308), an elected official. As many as 300 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926; p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

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hand by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'ki'ga). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained. (722) (203) (211)

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows. (834) (262) (263) (843)

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies. 921 535 (48) (825) 726 758 789

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 239-240). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare. 727 (783) 726 (234)

SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Steiner and Klausner (1983, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

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basketry decorated with named geometric patterns; language affiliation; sagebrush meal brush; looped withe hot rock lifter; flat mush stirring paddle; hopper-mortar; feather-decorated coiled basketry. 171

Certain traits link the Washo with the Great Basin area (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, p. 4):

> . . . long net for catching rabbits by driving technique; special "hoes" for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of pifion (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket forms (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by "charming"; private ownership of clumps of pifion trees.

Modern Washo culture is largely western American with a moderate number of aboriginal hold-overs. The 177 178

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1949, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. During ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

relative in all sixteen categories. The mean was calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i}{N}.$$

The standard error of the mean was calculated by the formula

$$S_{\bar{X}}^2 = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N - 1}.$$

The 95 per cent confidence limits were estimated by the formula

$$\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$$

(When x is distributed normally, the confidence coefficient corresponding to the interval $\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$ is .954).

An inspection of the lengths of the confidence intervals revealed no striking differences among them. Comparisons of the end points of the confidence intervals showed the differences among the means of many relatives in each category of behavior to be significant because of the lack of overlap between the confidence intervals.

The male and female protocols were analyzed separately because it was assumed that roles are enacted somewhat differently toward men and women. That this assumption is correct is shown by the table on p. 395 (bottom). If the male and female protocols had been lumped, some of the differences in role behavior could have been obscured whenever the sex differences happened to cancel each other. The fact that the male and female test protocols give slightly different results does not mean that we are dealing with two separate societies or that Washo society is stratified or segmented in any way. Since the Washo are one society and have essentially one kinship system, a significant distinction between two roles occurring among either men or women is regarded as a distinction obtaining for the whole society. Therefore, the following definition of role difference is used in this study: if the confidence intervals about the means of two roles fail to overlap in any category of behavior for either men or women, the roles are considered to differ significantly.

The results of the statistical analysis are given in Appendices I and II. Appendix III contains the graphs of the means of all the roles investigated. These graphs of means are called role profiles. Appendix IV presents the graphs of the sixteen categories with the kinship roles on the x axis.

ROLE BEHAVIOR

One general observation may be made before examining Washo kinship role by role. This concerns the distinctiveness of almost all the roles. The Washo are among the bilateral tribes of the Great Basin, Plateau, and California which are generally thought to contain little significant kinship patterning apart from family relationships. Murdock has investigated this

T:Freed B-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT30 Washo NT30
[P. 368, B]

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, silless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

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[p. 390, B]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1945, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 386, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 272-275.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Parent- and Child-in-law Class

la'yuk	parent-in-law
tipa'a'wali	my son-in-law
la'ya	my daughter-in-law

Sibling-in-law Class

ti.ala'ya	my wife's brother, husband's sister[a]
tima.a'wai	my husband's brother[b]
tida'waa	my sister's husband, if childless (see p. 313)
timaaa'ya	my brother's wife (m. sp.)
tiya'ali	my brother's wife (w. sp.)[c]

Spouse Class

tipuma'li	my husband
timlai'ya	my wife

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114 Kroeber's and my data agree closely, perhaps the only noteworthy differences occurring in the sibling-in-law class; for differences in possessive prefixes for the two paired reciprocals with common stem (e.g., tipa'pa, my father's father; lapa'pa, my son's child, m. sp.) are probably only of linguistic interest.

601 Kroeber has pointed out the striking similarity of the Washo and the Pa-
114 viotso terminologies, neither "classificatory" in the traditional sense. Distin-
171 guishing father's brother *from* father *and* mother's brother, mother's sister *from* father's sister *and* mother, they represent the type I have designated as Bifurcate Collateral.[d] But in classing all cousins as siblings they exhibit one feature of a Generation system. Gifford's maps for grandparent and cousin terms[e] show our two tribes to be in both respects part of a very definite block. The same applies to the lack of Bifurcate Merging features. In other words, Washo and Paviotso terminologies are typical of a large Far Western area that is both positively and negatively different from the region east of the Rocky Mountains.

601 Kroeber obtained no vocative terms for either spouse. This is intelligible
593 from Bill's statement that husband and wife do not ordinarily address each other by the spouse term. Sometimes, but rarely, a wife may call her husband by the distinctive term, for example, tipuma'li, ka'yuk, "Husband, come here"; [551] and in a text giving a husband's imaginary speech to his wife he is made to address her as timlai'ya. They do not address each other by name. 601

Some of the applications of the terms were worked out with the aid of brief genealogies.

[a] Kroeber translates "man's sister's husband, wife's brother."

[b] Kroeber gives a descriptive term for "my child's father's brother."

[c] Also "husband's sister," according to Kroeber. According to Jack, there was no term for a woman's brother's wife.

[d] R. H. Lowie, A Note on Relationship Terminologies, AA 30:263–267, 1928.

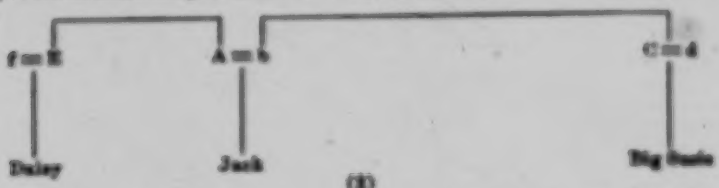
[e] E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:130, 163, 1922.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le'yus; she calls Bill and his wife la'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father tl.e'ld, and is called la'ldi in turn. He calls his father's mother tl'e'ma and is called la'a'ame in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tika'a, and she calls "back to him" ikka'i.



(1)

Jack calls C tika'a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi'tsuk, and E tl.e'.esi. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiya' pamu'li, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita'a tamlai'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as timlai'ya tawi'tsuk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipa'ya tasa'ma, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the gale'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

Dave referred to a me'luwe'ne dance (old men lively? dance) called "love [177] dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the [171] Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a foxskin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The [537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Soon he did something else. He took a long, strong line and made one man hold either end and tighten it. He put a bullet on the string. "See if the bullet doesn't work the way I dreamt. If it doesn't go across the string, don't believe in my dreams. Now watch; it'll go quickly." He put it on the string; it went across as if on a level table, and came back again.

All his friends said, "It works as he dreamt; he dreamt right." He dreamt about three things—bullets, powder, and the gun. No one could make the gun go off except himself. He wanted to try another way. He put down a piece of iron. All looked at it. "Watch it; see if it moves by itself, without anyone's handling it." The iron was the length of a pencil and about two inches thick. "I am ready now." The iron stood up on one end by itself. They said, "You dreamt right."

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This happened about 45 years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926). The old man put everything he dreamt into his house. It burned up. Thereafter he had no more power and could not dream of anything any more. This dreamer was not a doctor. He was a homely old man.

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Strangely enough, neither Dave nor Bill had heard of any *arrow-proof* Washo, but Bill told such a tale about a "Paiute" from Schurz, Nevada, which happened before any whites were there. This Paiute said, "Nobody can kill me by shooting, I am tough." He had something hard and circular all about his body, but no one knew what it was. People would shoot at him, but their arrows merely glanced off. The shaman would sit down and sing, "Some of you think I am not tough, but I am pretty tough." Among the spectators were some Washo, who also tried to shoot the man, but failed. One of them said, "Don't talk so loud; he has something hidden there; I have seen it." He told his brother, "If you want to shoot him, aim straight in the middle." Then the speaker's brother did so, and his arrow entered the body of the shaman, who vainly tried to pull it out, shook and sang, but died on the spot. All the Paiute were angry, and a brother of the slain shaman killed one Washo; the rest ran away.

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Dave mentioned a wonderworker whose power explicitly did not come from dreams but was evidently reckoned equivalent. During a fight with the poorly clad Digger Indians, the Washo asked, "Have any of you a dream of a cold north wind?" One of them answered, "I have no dream, but I'll try to make one. I'll shout and smoke tobacco to make it come." He got on a big rock, and shouted three times, "Come, wind, we want the coldest night, we are fighting the Digger Indians and want to destroy them." Soon the wind came with dust. "Look at the wind coming," said the Indians. There was a big fire under the rock. Soon the Digger Indians followed a track, and two or three went into a badger hole to get warm. They died there. The water froze into ice an inch thick. All the enemy froze to death.

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Rupert, the sophisticated young Washo referred to on page 304, was a mystic credited with shamanistic ambitions (in 1926). He spoke of one Monkey Peter, whom I was unable to meet, as a "philosopher." Rupert said he had seen a man with "mental power" step on fire without being hurt; and he had heard of a woman who had walked up the perpendicular side of a cliff.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

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*553 usually thought of as the high point of the meeting when it occurs, and it elicits a stir of excitement; the men discuss the technique and point to their throats to indicate where and how the singer must be making the sound. A common phrase heard in this connection is that "he made the tent poles wobble," and "he made a connection there."

The exact nature of the shaking sound is not known to the authors; it seems to be a combination of effects—first, a special "ventriloquistic" effect common in American Indian singing and in contrast to the normal Washo Peyote vocal technique; and second, a reverberation sound echo set up in the tipi or cabin due to a combination of singing, drumming, and rattling operating in a certain acoustic situation. It may also be induced by a high-pitched whining or humming on the part of others in the room; this is formalized and given the name "helping the singer along." In any case, the effect is real to the degree that it is heard distinctly in recordings; it has an apparent religious significance in that it indicates the "medicine is working."

Song texts

Song texts are made up almost exclusively of meaningless syllables with a very few words in English providing the only exception. Some apparently typical syllabic configurations may be noted as: *yo wa ne hay nay; / ne wa nay o wa*. In some cases syllables beginning with h, w, and l are used, but these are relatively infrequent.

[71] Nettl (1953:161) has noted that in the Peyote songs of the Arapaho there is a definite repetition of syllables when melodic rhythms are repeated; that is, not only when the same line is repeated but when the line is varied in the same rhythm. This is also characteristic of the Washo songs. Nettl further reports the existence of "an almost universal . . . closing formula . . . which is sung on four long notes, or three long and one short note on the tonic" (1953:162). To a certain degree, this pattern is found in the Washo songs, but it is by no means "almost universal"; twelve of the 21 songs show the characteristic clearly, the remaining nine either vaguely or not at all.

Finally, Nettl notes that in closing, "the vowels of the first and second syllables are identical; they are usually higher than, or identical with, the fourth vowel. The first, second, and fourth vowels are front vowels, the third is a back vowel" (ibid: 162). Again, this is a pattern found frequently though not exclusively in the Washo songs. The most frequent closing pattern in those songs in which four final tones are used is *hay nay yo wa*, found in seven songs. In four other songs, the closing pattern is *hay nay yo way*, an obvious corollary. These patterns correspond closely to those reported by Nettl (1953:162) and McAllester (1949:68). Some other patterns include *hay yo wa nay; / hay ya na; / hay na hay ya ha; / hi ya ya na*.

The Washo themselves, of course, note that the syllables are meaningless and they speak of them as "words of another tribe's language"; at the same time, they admit that they sometimes make up their own meaningless words. One informant said that he would use Washo words except that "serious words in Washo are too long and don't fit the time of the songs." Another reported

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/4]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelfyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 238-61).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other, and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

[1/4] [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1/1]

by Philip E. Leis

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The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

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Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

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These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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114 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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[178] The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this difference in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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154 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening variable between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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[683] The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

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In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> ". . . perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which grips the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

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On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

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Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

The Washo speak a Hokan language, their neighbors to the east, the Northern Paiute, speak a Utaztekan language; the Maidu and Miwok to the west are Penutian speakers. The Hokan languages are widely scattered from California through Mexico and into Central America, and are considered to be among the oldest languages in California. The lexicostatistics of Hokan indicate that Washo separated from Yana, only 50 mi. northwest of the Washo, 5000 years ago.

Kroeber (1955) wrote that "It is evident that the geographical proximity of Yana and Washo is a secondary and recent affair, and that they have been separated not only for a long period but probably, by a considerable geographical interval for much of that time. Washo in fact proves to have been split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45C or more."

Lamb (1958) shows linguistic evidence for the presence of the Proto-Utaztekan people around the Arizona-Sonora-Mexico, region 5000 years ago. After several splits and migrations within the language family there was a general movement north and eastward by the Shoshonean division about 1000 years ago, a movement that was still in progress 500 years ago. In the 1800's the Shoshoneans were the principal language group present in the Great Basin. Linguistic data suggest, therefore, a pattern of Shoshonean contacts over a long period of time which is important in any interpretation of Washo prehistory.

In contrast to the linguistic differences, the Washo appear to be closely related racially to the surrounding tribes. At least, according to the anthropometric study made by Gifford in 1926, the Washo are included with Northern Paiute, Miwok, and many other groups in his "narrow-nosed subtype" of the "Californian type." This similarity is also suggested by the work on Great Basin population by Kennedy (1959).

The Washo are culturally, as well as geographically, between eastern California and Great Basin tribes. Barrett (1917) pointed out Washo relationships on both sides of the Sierra Nevada with Californian affinities indicated by the conical house, bedrock mortar, soaproot brush, coiled basketry with descriptively named geometric patterns, and acorns as a food. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) added language affiliation, looped willow hot rock lifter, and flat mush stirring paddle to this list.

Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) state that "affiliations of Washo culture with that of the Shoshonean tribes to the east in the Great Basin proper are: long net for catching rabbits by driving technique; special 'boss' for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of pinon (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

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Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft.elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31,(see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

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been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, suprabend organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

9. d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

NW 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [825] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater W concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was [36] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

NW 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the W NW Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, [177] or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[77] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
[177] are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
[171] 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shoule thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[6] Beals, 1932, 216.

[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shoule, 1925, 58.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Dan James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Dan joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okie. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decrey and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Celeville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year." Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

"I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[5] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[6] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[7]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[5] La Barre, 61.
[6] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[7] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[9] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes ... and rare is the man who

[9] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[49] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[50] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental,[51] and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[52]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[53] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[54]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[55] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[49] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[50] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[51] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[52] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[53] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[54] La Barre, 72.

[55] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[a] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[b] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[c] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."[11]

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worthwhile to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration.[12] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[11] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[12] 1925:868–873.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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of a new type of living."[3] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

[3] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.
[4] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[8] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[9] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Woyoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[10] The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[8] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[9] Tom Garth, field notes.
[10] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[76] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[77] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[78] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

[76] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.
[77] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.
[78] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus.[a]

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

[a] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
Comanche N06

Element	Occurrence																											
	Tse	Wa-P	Ow	Ou	SEM	Cr 2	Cr 1	Cr	Wa	Dc 2	Dc	Do 1	Ar 2	Kio	Com	Kio	Ar 1	Kio	Com	Ar 3	Ut							
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	+					(+)		(−)	+			(+)	+							
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
10. Decorated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
16. Only after midnight	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
17. To accompany singer holding staff					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+							
20. Binding decorated		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
21. Passed around	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	(−)	+	−	+		+							
22. Held with staff while singing	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+							
23. Individual fans also used	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
24. Only after midnight	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	(+)	+	−	+		+							
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+							
28. At special morning ritual	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							

(Continued on next page)

N
W
171 ●
534
795*
796

C
171
534
795
796

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

N W ● 111 *795 796 535 [illegible] 1267

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab S	Da 1	Da 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WIS	Ute	Ces	W-P	Tet
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		–	–		–	+	+		–	–	–		+		–	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	•+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	–		–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•–	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
59. In oak leaves	+	–	+	+	–•(+)		–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
60. In paper	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Klo	Ais B	De 1	De 8	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 8	WRB	Ute	Cos	W-P	Tem		
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	°+	+	+	(+)	+	+		
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	°(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–			
63 Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+		
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+		
°65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–		(–)		–	–	–	–	–	°–	–	–	–	–			
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+			
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+		–			
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	°+	°+	+	+	–			
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°–	+	°+	–		+	°–	°–	+	°(+)	°–			
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	°+	°+	+	°	+	+		
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		
77. 2 assistants		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+		
79. 4 or more assistants		–	°–	–	–	+	+	°+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–			
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+		
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°+	°+	°–	+	+		
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–		°+	°–	–	°+	°–	°–						
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	°+	+	–	°+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+		
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	–	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	°+			+					

(Continued on next page)

N W 171 ● TRS* 746 E7G

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NRB
Washo NT20

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																								
	Tu	Ap	Com	Tho	Ute	Cr 3	Cr 2	Cr 1	No C	Wa	Do 2	Do 1	Ar	Ha	Cam	Kio	E-4	Ji T							
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
93. Conducts people in and out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
96. In open																									
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
104. Old methods used to start fire																									
105. 4 sticks on fire																									
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
113. Cedarman third		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
114. Men (before women and children)		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
119. Women, either side, near entrance		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
120. Separation of men and women		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							

| Element | Tim | Ow | Pyr | Wa | Dr | Ch | Ow | Ow | Ow

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
N W ● 171 4795 1796 [533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	LET	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ash	Dal	Dal	Wis	Oto	Oto	Oto	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Tew
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+															
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+		·	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−								
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Element	Occurrence																		
	Tat	K-A	Klo	Cam	Kla	Alv	Del	Dea	Wis	No C	Cri	Sco	Wis	Ute	Gos	F-W	Tmc		
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+			
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	+		
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	°(+)	−	+	+	+	+		
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+		−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	°+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		°−	°+		+	+	+	+			°(+)	+	−	°(+)	+	+	+		
195. Urged not to eat too much			°+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	°+	−	+			
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
197. By women			°+	−	°+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		°+	+		
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		°+	−	−	+	°−	+	+	+	+	−		
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	°−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−		
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−		
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	°−	−		
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			°+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	−		
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	°+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	−	−		
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		

(Concluded on next page)

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	Del	Del	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	Wil S	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tom		
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+		
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–		
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+		
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	+		
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	•–		
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•		
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+		
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+			
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+·	+	+	•+	+		+			
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+			
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–			
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–			
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+							+	+		–			
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+		+			
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–	–	–	–	–	–			

Element	Occurrences																		
	11 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ab II	Du 1	Du 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Uta	Cos	W-P	Tse		
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+·1	+	+	+	N	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−			−	+	−	−		W	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	171	●
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	745*	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	746	
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	[71]	
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+				[574]	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	[276]	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+			
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+			
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+			
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+			
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+		•+			
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+						+		+			
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				+		+			
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+		+			
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+									
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−									
265a. (See note)																			

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1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷɛβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instances (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: ɗamē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nï'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Goe: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	26
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	350	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

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TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Fox and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1933.

(Concluded on next page)

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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

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TABLE 4

ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley			Mono County				Total by tribes				Total
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O	P	W	S	O	P	W	S	O	
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	2	51	3	3	218	15	11	18	620	281	56	41	1000
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	8		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	32	8	3	88
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	27	8	3	83
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1		20	2		2	26	12	3	2	43
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1												5			5
Mixed-blood households								2			1												3			3
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1												1	2		3
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1															1			1
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2							2	2		2	6	6	2	2	16
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	16	1		5	1			82	1	1	3		24		24		2	28	3			96	88	2	3	189
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			33	1		3		24		24		2	22	3			91	41	2	3	137
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9			9	1			20	18	1		38
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1								4				5	17			22
Mixed blood households								4		1								2				3	4			7
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1							1	1		1	3
Attended only other meetings	7							1														7	1			8
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7							7	4		1	12
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2	1	1			5	3	1	3	12
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	112	2	22	1	1	161	4	11	15	479	191	48	35	753
Full-blood individuals	80	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1	102	3	11	14	304	174	44	32	554
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	52		49		10			54	2	6		196	76	21		293
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2			50	1		1	75	17	4	3	99
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2			27	1			38	11	2		51
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		2	2	2	1	1	14			13	25	10	3	21	59

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The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

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Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

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APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; si, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; nc, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Fallon Reservation								
1. Byers, L.	F	26	S	1	c, h, ss, b			
2. Burchim, C.	M	40	S	1	w, std, c			
3. Burchim, I.	F	37	P	1	h, d	stf	2 u, 2 b	
4. Jack, M.	F	17	P	1	m, stf			
5. Dyer, F.	M	45	S	1	w, 2 d, c		s	
6. Dyer, H.	F	43	S	1	h, 2 d		s	
7. Dyer, D.	F	23	S	1	m, f, ss		h	
8. Dyer, A.	F	21	S	1	m, f, ss			
Fallon Town								
9. Jack, H.	M	41	P (S)	1	c	b	w	f
10. Street, J.	M	46	S	1	w, ss, bl			
11. Street, M.	F	32	S	1	c, h, ss, bl			
Gardnerville								
12. Dressler, H.	M	69	W	1	nph, s, 2 d, 2 s, bl	nph	b, gs	
13. Dressler, G.	M	36	W	1	c, f, 3 ss, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
14. Pete, Irene	F	28	W	1	bl, c, f, 2 ss, b, h	c, s	u, nph	
15. Dressler, R.	F	33	W	1	c, f, 2 ss, b, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
16. James, M.	F	58	W	¾	2 s, d, 2 gd		dl, h, 2 s	sl, dl, gd, d
17. James, D.	M	35	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
18. James R.	M	29	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
19. Lancaster, M.	F	66	W	1	nph		b	
20. Miller, B.	M	21	W	½	fl, w, ml			
21. Miller, G.	F	23	P	1	h, m, f			

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Douglas County								
22. Arnot, E.	M	58	W	1	w, s			
23. Arnot, H.	F	46	W	1	h, s			
24. Arnot, S.	M	20	W	1	f, m			
25. Pete, H.	M		W	1	w, ml			
26. Pete, W. J.	F	30	W	1	h, m			
27. Simpson, H.	F	59	W	1	d, sl			
28. Dick, S.	M	43	W	1	3 std, sts, w, m, c, u			
29. Dick, I. M.	F	47	P	1	3 d, bl, h, m, ml, s			
30. Dick, S.	F	64	W	1	s, dl, b, nph			
31. Dick, S. G.	M	69	W	1	ss, nph			
32. Mike, L.	F	34	W	1	2 nph			
33. Peters, M.	M	21	W	1	b, s			
34. Peters, E.	M	27	W	1	b, s			
35. Lancaster, Ben	M	60	W	½	bl, w, 2 s, c			
Mason Valley								
36. Keno, James	M	62	P	1	w, s, dl			
37. Keno, M.	F	47	P	1	h, s, dl, c			
38. Keno, W.	M	28	P	1	m, f, w, u			
39. Keno, N.	F	18	P	1	h, ml, fl			
Smith Valley								
40. Cornbread, V.	M	36	W	1	2 bl, w, fl, 2 sal			
41. Cornbread, R.	F	36	W	1	h, f, bl, 2 ss, b			
42. Milton, J.	M	53	P	1	w, 2 d, 2 sl			
43. Milton, M.	F	55	P	1	c, h, 2 d, 2 sl			
44. Sam, R.	M	36	P	1	sl, bl, w, ml, fl			
45. Sam, M.	F	32	P	1	h, m, f, s, bl			
46. Wilson, A.	F	58	P	1				

* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Continued*)

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Mono County								
47. Sam, F.	M	46	P	1	w, s, d			nph
48. Sam, B.	F	35	P	1	h, s, d			
49. Sam, E.	F	17	P	1	m, f, b			
50. Sam, J.	M	15	P	1	m, f, s			
51. Tom, H.	M	41	P	1	bl, m, w, b, 2 s			s, bl
52. Tom, C.	F	31	P	1	2 bl, h, ml			
53. Williams, V.	F	35	P	1	s			h
54. Williams, C.	M	16	P	1	m			f
55. Charley, T.	F	67	P	1	d			2 nph
56. Charley, N.	F	24	P	1	m			b, c
57. Gregory, N.	F	59	P	1				
58. Harrison, J.	F	75	P	1				
59. Lundy, S.	M	43	M	1	f, b, w			
60. Lundy, Sally	F	40	P	1	h			
61. Jack, J.	M	43	P	1	w			
62. Jack, E.	F	30	P	1	b			
63. Johnson, R.	F	70	P	1				
64. McLaughlin, A.	F	82	P	1				nph
65. Lundy, John	M	17	P-(M)	1	f, m			w, fl
66. Dick, E.	M	39	(M)-P	1			d	ss, sl
67. Charles, D.	M	40	P	1	b			
68. Lundy, B.	M	29	M	1	b, ssl, f			
69. Lundy, J.	M	67	M	1	2 s, dl			
70. Tom, L.	F	66	P	1	2 sl, 2 s, 2 d, 3 gd			2 gs, gd, d, sl
71. Tom, Lee	M	45	P	1	m, b, 2 ss, 2 bl			bl, ss, c, nph
72. Harrison, L.	F	23	P	1	m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
73. Harrison, J.	F	21	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
74. Harrison, A.	F	17	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
75. Cornbread, H.	F	22	P-(W)	1	2 ss	m		ss, gf

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
76. Dick, Sadie	F	32	P	1	ml, 2 sal, 2 bl	3 bl, h, 2 sal		
77. Dick, Levi	M	44	P-(W)	1	w, ss, b, ml, m	3 b, 2 ss		
78. Dick, L.	F	44	W	1	bl, 2 sal, h, m, ml	3 bl, 2 sl		
79. Higgins, J.	F	65	W	1	d, sl			
80. Dick, M.	F	66	P	1	2 s, 2 dl	3 s, 2 d		
81. Dick, S.	N	41	P-(W)	1	ml, w, m, b, 2 sal	3 b, 2 ss		
82. Dick, E.	F	23	P	1	2 sal, h, m, bl	2 sal, 3 bl		
83. Pete, L.	M	73	W	1	w, s, d		s	
84. Pete, J.	F	61	W	1	h, s, d		s	
85. Pete, Jarvis	M	33	W	1	m, f, ss		b	
86. Walker, C.	M	50	W	1	f, nph			sl, 2 b, 2 sal
87. Walker, A.	F	52	W	1	f, nph			2 bl, 2 sal
88. Walker, R.	M	21	W	1	u, s			f, stm, u, s
Nixon								
89. Frazier, E.	M	58	P	1	w			s s
90. Frazier, M.	F	60	P	1	h			s d
91. Green, J.	M	63	P	1				
92. Jim, W.	M	46	P	1				
93. Mason, B.	F	50	P	1	3 s, gs, dl			
94. Sam, S.	M	26	P	1	s, 3 b, m, nph			
95. Sam, A.	M	24	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
96. Sam, R.	M	21	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
97. Sam, H.	M	34	P	1	m, w, 3 b, s			
98. Sam, L.	F	25	P	1	3 bl, ml, h			
99. Sam, M.	F	67	P	1	s, 4 nph, dl			
100. Sam, W.	M	47	P	1	m, w, 4 c			
101. Sam, I.	F	41	P	1	h, ml			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Concluded*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Woodfords								
102. Fillmore, D.	F		W		b, m, gm, 2 u, f	ss	gf, 2u	h, bl, 2 s, ss
103. Cornbread, D.	M		W		ml, s, w, 2 bl, s	d	2 bl, fl	2 sl, d, 2 snl
104. Cornbread, E.	F		W		m, 2 b, d, s	d	f, 2 b	bl, sl, ss, d
105. Cornbread, G.	M		W		m, f, gm, ss, 2 u	ss	gf, 2 u	bl, ss
106. Barton, J.	M		W					
107. Miller, L.	M		W		s			
Bishop								
108. Tom, Soda	M		P		w, sd, 2 nph			s, gs
109. Tom, Mrs. S.	F		P		h, d, 2 nph			
110. Charles, J.	M		P		b, u, s, c			
111. Moose, R.	F		P		2 c, m, sf			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.